

information bulletin

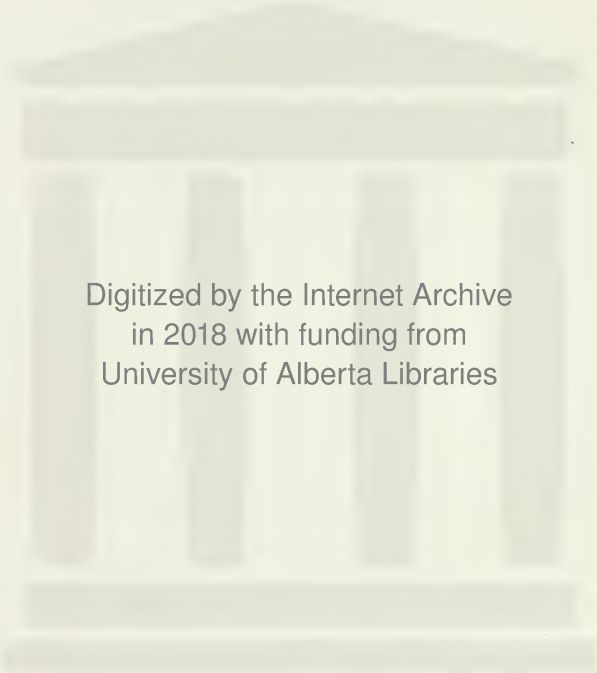
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY

HX
632
A1
W9
no.1316

WARSAW

1963

MAIN



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
University of Alberta Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/informationbulle09cent>

information bulletin

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY

information bulletin

W A R S A W

No. 9

1 9 6 3

SEPTEMBER

POLONIA PUBLISHING HOUSE

Printed in Poland

**ZAKŁADY KARTOGRAFICZNE
WROCLAW**

CONTENTS

	Page
Zenon Kliszko	
Peaceful Coexistence — the General Line of the Foreign Policy of the Socialist Countries	7
Witold Jarosiński	
Everlasting Leninist Ideas	16
The 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party	27

INFORMATION

Andrzej Pawłowski	
The Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism	40
The Workers' Agency	45
Non-Resident Studies in the CC Higher School of Social Sciences	48

MATERIALS AND DOCUMENTS

Telegram to Comrade Samuel Mikunis	51
Chronicle	52

ZENON KLISZKO

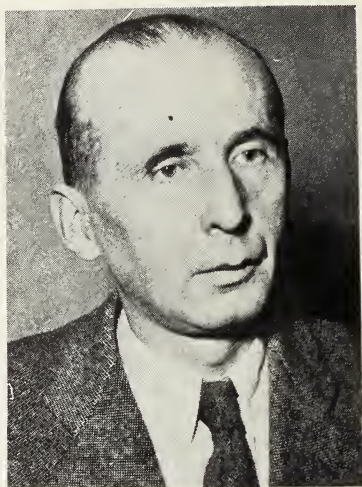
Member of the Political Bureau
and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE – THE GENERAL LINE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES*

Historians claim that of the 3,640 years of written history of mankind only 292 thus far have passed without a clash of arms. Systems based on class oppression gave birth to countless wars which, as the means for waging them were improved, became more and more destructive. The bloodiest chapter in human history was written by the two world wars which were unleashed by imperialism in the desire to obtain a new division of the world into zones of exploitation and plunder and which engulfed tens of millions of victims and caused terrible destruction over great areas of the world. But even those wars could not be compared with the new world war which menaces the peoples in our times, with the existence and stockpiling of enormous quantities of nuclear weapons.

A new world war, the danger of which has been produced by the imperialist policy of hatred for the Socialist world, the policy of "the cold war" and the arms race, would be a catastrophe for all mankind. Hundreds of millions of people could perish in a thermonuclear war; no nation in the world could save itself from the horrible sacrifice of blood and destruction. A nuclear world war would turn the civilizational achievements of many generations into embers.

* This article was published in *Pravda*, organ of the CC of the CPSU, on Aug. 9, 1963.



ZENON KLISZKO

Such is the qualitatively new danger facing our generation. However, in the present era, for the first time in the history of mankind, a new mighty force has been born — the world Socialist system — which has smashed the superiority of imperialism in the world and is exerting a more and more overpowering influence on the balance of forces and the development of international relations. The laws of imperialism have not changed. But they no longer rule the world

absolutely, and the existence of a different world, a Socialist world, hinders and restricts their operation, above all in the realm of international relations. Thanks to the world Socialist system, due to the peace policy of many states which arose on the ruins of colonialism, thanks to the struggle of the international working class and the national liberation movement, a mighty obstacle has arisen which blocks the road for imperialism to unleash a new war. In recent years the forces of peace have gained the advantage over the forces of war and aggression.

In this new balance of forces a new world war is no longer inevitable. The mission undertaken by Socialism to protect mankind from the outbreak of a nuclear rocket war expressed not only our desire — it is based on real historical possibilities.

Not only the mighty economic development but also the

foreign policy of the countries in the world Socialist system is of decisive importance in the struggle against the danger of a new world war. The meeting of the 81 parties in 1960 fully reaffirmed the position taken in the Declaration of 1957: "The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition of the Socialist countries with the capitalist countries," the statement of 1960 declares, "constitutes the firm basis of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries."

It is precisely the idea and policy of peaceful coexistence in our times that most eloquently testify to the strength and superiority of Socialism over capitalism. The policy of peaceful coexistence is winning for Socialism good will, support, and new advocates among all the nations of the world. The policy of peaceful coexistence is augmenting the forces of Socialism under the present conditions of international relations; it is the first line of class struggle against imperialism.

In its open letter of July 14th of this year the Central Committee of the CPSU very correctly emphasizes this fact: "The struggle for peace, for implementing the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is one of the most important forms of struggle against imperialism, against new wars prepared by it, against the aggressive actions of imperialists in colonial countries, against the military bases of imperialists on foreign territories, against the arms race, etc. This struggle is in the interest of the working class — of all working people — and in this sense it is a class struggle."

Post-war history provides many proofs of this. One such proof is the triumph of the national-liberation and Socialist revolution in Cuba. Both stages in the revolution of heroic Cuba took place under the conditions of peaceful coexistence of the two world systems, coexistence which is conditioned by the balance of forces in which the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries were able to shield Cuba against intervention by

American imperialism. These are facts which are more and more difficult to negate even for the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Comrade Fidel Castro fully appreciated this role of the USSR with respect to the Cuban revolution: "The country which, for the sake of defending a small nation lying many thousands of miles away," he said, "placed on the balance of thermonuclear war, the welfare acquired over a period of 45 years by creative work and at the cost of enormous self-denial, will radiate in all its greatness! The Land of Soviets which, defending its rights to coexistence and development, lost more lives during the Great National War against the fascists than the population of Cuba, did not hesitate in face of risk of a grave war and came to the defence of our small country. History knows of no such examples of solidarity."

As is known, the Polish United Workers' Party and our entire nation firmly supported the position of the Soviet leadership, headed by Comrade Nikita Khrushchov, during the period of the crisis in the Caribbean region. It was emphasized at the time that the Land of Soviets as the main force of the Socialist commonwealth, as a mighty nuclear power, bears particular responsibility for the security of all the Socialist countries and for the peace of the entire world. The position of the CPSU on peaceful coexistence, the entire foreign policy of the CPSU based on that Leninist principle, testify to the great sense of that responsibility, to the faithfulness to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and to the unflinching devotion to the cause of the triumph of peace and Socialism.

*

In the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence the principal, basic task of all Socialist countries is to fight

consistently for general and total disarmament. General and total disarmament is the most effective way of ensuring the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

For many years, therefore, the Socialist countries and, together with them, all the peoples of the world, have demanded a ban on nuclear tests as an important step towards the total prohibition of the nuclear weapons, cessation of the arms race, and an international *détente*. That is why the treaty recently concluded in Moscow for a ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water has been welcomed throughout the world. The conclusion of this treaty after five years of tedious negotiations is a result of the consistent position taken by the Soviet Union as well as of the growing pressure of the peoples, including many nations of Asia and Africa; it is an important success for the world forces of peace. The Soviet position was fully approved at the recent meeting of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and the Workers' Parties and heads of government of the Warsaw Pact member-countries. The resolution adopted at that meeting unanimously declared that "this treaty will be conducive to the relaxation of international tension and will become a positive factor in the struggle of the peoples for peace and against the threat of a new world war."

The first reactions to the Moscow agreement on the treaty indicate that it will be signed by the overwhelming majority of the countries.

The warm approval of the treaty by all peoples and the governments of many countries stems above all from the fact that in the nuclear test ban they see an important success in the struggle to halt the nuclear arms race, and, particularly, one of the means of averting the danger of nuclear weapons spreading to other countries.

The spreading of the nuclear weapons to other countries

intensifies the nuclear arms race, transforming it into a spontaneous process which would be more and more difficult to control. It is significant that the most reactionary, aggressive and belligerent circles in the West have been, and still are, against the test ban and in favour of spreading nuclear weapons. The militaristic circles of the United States and France, and in the first place, the West German militarists and revanchists, are interested in the continuation of tests.

The ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water will not completely prevent the spreading of nuclear weapons to other countries, but it is the first important step in this direction. It should be followed by a ban on underground tests, a ban on the transfer of nuclear weapons to other countries and the acceptance of such weapons from other countries, liquidation of nuclear bases on foreign territories, creation of atom-free zones in different parts of the world, and other measures which, step by step, would bring the world closer to the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. The forces of Socialism and peace do not intend to stop at the achievement of a partial test ban. The Socialist countries regard this treaty only as an important step forward and will continue their efforts to obtain further agreements and the total prohibition of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, to place the issue under the present concrete conditions as "all or nothing" is in actual fact pure demagoguery, renunciation of real progress towards disarmament.

What, then, in this situation is the meaning of the words in the statement of the government of the People's Republic of China to the effect that "the treaty provides a fake peace," and that "it increases the danger of imperialism launching a nuclear war and world war?"

These are invectives and inventions which are to make up for the lack of factional arguments in the statement. For no

one who is motivated by a real desire to ease international tension, a desire for peaceful coexistence, can come out against the Moscow Treaty. The whole statement of the government of the People's Republic of China is marked by a poorly concealed endeavour to break the unity of the Socialist camp and to undermine its firm policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states.

We associate ourselves with the statement of the Soviet government in reply to the statement of the government of the People's Republic of China which constitutes a document without precedence in relations between Socialist countries.

*

The nuclear test ban treaty concluded in Moscow, does not, of course, put an end to the arms race nor, even less so, does it mean the elimination of the danger of war. No one has said this anywhere. However, this treaty is of utmost importance for checking, or restricting the nuclear arms race. Hence, the protests and rantings among those circles in the West which are banking on the continuation of the cold war. This treaty has been rejected by de Gaulle's France which does not want go to give up its "efforts to obtain nuclear arms of its own!" It is also known that the Moscow treaty was received with very bad grace precisely in the German Federal Republic which for many years has loudly and persistently demanded nuclear weapons for its Bundeswehr. The attitude of the German Federal Republic heightens the vigilance of the peoples which look upon the plans to equip the West German militarists and revanchists with nuclear weapons as the main danger to peace in Europe and in the whole world.

The significance of this treaty can also be weighed on the balance of political importance. For the first time in the history

of the existence of nuclear weapons an agreement has been concluded between the three states which have almost all of the means of mass nuclear annihilation and which at the same time belong to two opposed social and political systems. This is the first agreement in a field of decisive importance for man's future on earth.

At present, after the signing of the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, it is necessary to mobilize all efforts to go further along the road of strengthening peace and easing tension. First of all, it is necessary, in accordance with the proposals of the USSR, to work on an agreement for a non-aggression pact between the member-countries of NATO and the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact. A non-aggression pact and also implementation of the Soviet proposals for measures to prevent surprise attacks would be of great importance for the strengthening of the security of nations. For that reason these proposals are actively supported by the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact and by all the forces of peace in Europe and the world. Only the governments of France and the German Federal Republic which are counting on the continuation of the cold war, are coming out openly against them.

*

The Polish proposal for the establishment of an atom-free zone in Central Europe also assumes new timeliness at present. How much it is in keeping with the requirements of the present international situation and the aspirations of the peoples is indicated by the fact that the initiative for atom-free zones has been taken up in many parts of the world — in Southeast Asia, in the Far East, in Africa, in Latin America, in Northern Europe, in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean area, etc. But it

is of greatest significance right here where it was born — in Central Europe, in the most sensitive zone of contacts between the aggressive NATO treaty and the defensive Warsaw Pact. While supporting the proposals for atom-free zones in other regions of the world, Poland at the same time emphasizes the special urgency of creating such a zone in Central Europe where, as a result of the West German demands for atomic weapons, the danger of spreading nuclear weapons is greatest.

Our Party and our government, with the ardent support of the entire Polish nation, have on many occasions and consistently called for a nuclear test ban and have come out against the policy pushed by the imperialist countries of stepping up the nuclear arms race. We have always drawn particular attention precisely to the danger of nuclear weapons spreading to other countries, as we correctly saw in this great danger to peace. In addition to the plan for an atom-free zone in Central Europe, proposals presented by Comrade Władysław Gomułka, at the 15th Session of the U.N. General Assembly had a similar aim.

Pursuing the objective of practical, constructive negotiations and agreements aimed at reducing tension and consolidating the peace, the leadership of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, and the governments of the Socialist countries, are consistently implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence — based on the Marxist-Leninist teachings and approved at meetings by the entire international Communist and Workers' movement — the general line of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries with respect to the capitalist countries. The Moscow Treaty just signed follows precisely this general line.

WITOLD JAROSIŃSKI

Secretary of the Central Committee
of the PUWP

EVERLASTING LENINIST IDEAS*

Sixty years ago on July 30, 1903, the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) began its deliberations. This Congress marked a turning point in the history of the Russian and international working-class movement.

The Marxist Party was formed in Russia on the threshold of a new historical era, at a time when capitalism had entered the imperialist stage of its development and the working class was faced by new revolutionary tasks. The centre of the revolutionary movement moved to Russia and the course of events placed before the masses of people and the proletariat of the tsarist empire the most difficult and most important of all social tasks of the 20th century; to break the imperialist chain and open to mankind the road to Socialism.

A party of revolutionaries was needed, which could rally and organize the working class of Russia, secure for it an alliance with other sections of the working people and with nations oppressed by tsarism, and prepare them for and lead them in victorious revolutionary battles.

It was for such a party, for a party whose programmatic and organizational principles corresponded to the needs of the new

* Article appearing in *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the CC of the PUWP, on August 1, 1963.

epoch, that Lenin fought. He gave the entire force of his brilliant mind and organizational talent to the achievement of this objective. Such a party was set up — under Lenin's leadership — at the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

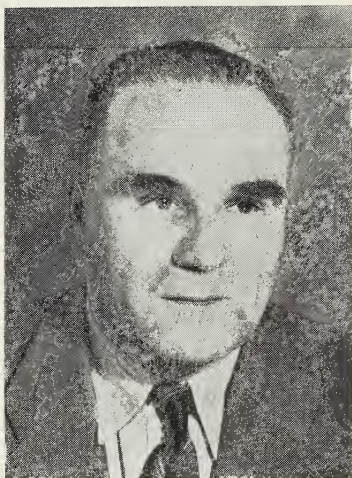
The programme adopted at the Second Congress put forward the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principle of the hegemony of the working class in the movement for the emancipation of all working people, the idea of the interconnection between the democratic and the Socialist revolutions, and the idea of an alliance of workers and peasants.

Lenin's writings prior to the Congress as well as his struggle at the Second Congress laid the foundations for the Marxist solution of the national question by countering, in this regard, all manifestation of nationalism, separatism and opportunism with the principle of proletarian internationalism and the right of oppressed nations to determine their own fate.

In the fight for the formulation of the basic principles of the Party Rules Lenin proposed, developed and successfully defended the conception of democratic centralism, the conception of a party of revolutionaries — the vanguard of the working class.

As a result of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and the development of Bolshevism as a trend of political thought and a political party, the Russian revolutionary movement became the front-line detachment of the world proletariat, and to this day it has been fulfilling the historical mission with honour.

Lenin's Party gathered and generalized the immense experience of the Russian proletariat and of the whole international working-class movement, prepared the workers and peasants of the tsarist empire to victorious battles and led them in the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism and of the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie. It became the commander-in-chief of



WITOLD JAROSINSKI

the great October Socialist Revolution, brought about the creation of the first proletarian state and the liquidation of the enormous economic and cultural backwardness of Russia, and transformed the Soviet Union into a powerful, modern, Socialist power. Under the leadership of the Leninist party the peoples of the Soviet Union stood up to imperialist intervention in 1918-1921 and in 1941-1945 dealt a shattering blow to Nazi Germany and its allies in Asia — imperialist Japan.

Next to the October Revolution this historic victory was another powerful blow delivered to the world imperialist system, a blow that made it possible for many European and Asian countries to tear themselves out of the fetters of capitalism, to seize power and take the road to Socialism — to establish a world Socialist system.

The sixty years that have passed since the historic Second Congress of the RSDLP fully proved the correctness, vitality and general international importance of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist laws of social development and Socialist revolution are applicable to all countries and continents. There is not, and there cannot be, one type of Marxism-Leninism for Europe and another, different kind of Marxism-Leninism, for

example for Asia. In the struggle for the transition from capitalism to Socialism and in the process of Socialist construction, it is necessary in accordance with the Leninist principle, to take into account each country's economic, political and national conditions shaped by history. At the same time, as shown by historical experience, social development — allowing for the peculiar characteristics of the various countries — generally proceeds in line with the same fundamental laws discovered by and formulated in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and tested and verified in the practice of Socialist revolutions and in the building of Socialism in the USSR and the People's Democracies. All attempts to undermine this great truth through nationalistic interpretations which are based on geographic, racial or national factors, are contrary to the very essence of Marxism-Leninism. All the historical experience of the Workers' and Communist movement throughout the world, especially the successful cooperation and mutual assistance on the part of the Socialist countries in their struggle to build a new social system and in the fight against imperialism and for peace, confirm the indestructible vitality of the great Marxist-Leninist idea of proletarian internationalism. In view of this, attempts to break the unity of the Socialist camp, tendencies towards creating a split, which only suit the purpose of the imperialist enemies of peace and Socialism, are all the more dangerous.

The inspiring example of the Great October Revolution, the emancipation and flourishing of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the change in the relation of forces in the world which resulted from the establishment of the world Socialist system and the transformation of the USSR into a great economic and political power, have created conditions for a successful struggle by the colonial nations for their liberation.

The open letter of July of this year of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Party Organi-

zations and to all Communists in the USSR correctly underlined the fact that one of the main conditions for continued victories of the national-liberation movement is its "firm alliance and cooperation with the countries of the world Socialist system, as the principal force in the fight against imperialism, and its alliance with the workers' movement in capitalist countries, and the implementation of the Leninist idea of the hegemony of the working class as a pre-condition for victory in the anti-imperialist struggle."

*

The formation of the Leninist Party at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was of far-reaching importance to the Polish revolutionary working-class movement which always felt itself to be inseparably bound with the Russian working class, with its revolutionary struggle against tsarism and imperialism. Under the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Congress Poland and Lithuania (SDPCP and L) the Polish workers, together with Russian workers, with Lenin's Party, fought on the barricades in the revolution of 1905-1907 and, beginning with 1906, the SDPCP and L formed a part of the RSDLP. The Polish revolutionary workers remembered Lenin's words that "here is no freedom for Poland without a free Russia." Under the slogan "For Your Freedom and Ours" and guided by a deep love of their own country and by principles of proletarian internationalism, thousands of Polish revolutionaries, among them Feliks Dzierżyński and Julian Marchlewski, fought at the side of Lenin's party for the victory of the October Revolution, for the building of the first Socialist state.

Guided by principles of Marxism-Leninism the Polish Workers' Party (PWP) drew up the only correct programme for the national and social liberation of Poland and was the first to take

up an armed struggle against the Nazi occupation forces in order to save the Polish people from annihilation. The PWP rallied around itself the Polish working class and became the organizer of a broad anti-Nazi national front. The PWP was guided by principles of proletarian internationalism, of an alliance and fraternal relations with the people of the Soviet Union. With the support of the USSR, a democratic Polish Army was formed on its territory, which fought heroically at the side of the Soviet Army to smash Nazism and to liberate Poland.

Thanks to the implementation of this correct policy, the struggle of the working masses of Poland under the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party brought about the establishment of an independent, people's Poland and led to the building of the foundations of Socialism in our country.

*

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union formed by Lenin, is the leading force in the tremendous economic and cultural development of the Soviet Union and in the building of a Communist society. Under the leadership of the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee headed by N. S. Khrushchov, the Soviet people are achieving successes in their economy, science, technology and culture that amaze the whole world. The USSR is rapidly approaching the point of reaching and then, surpassing the economic level of the United States. The success of the USSR in building Communism is of immense international importance.

The idea of getting Russia out of its backward position, of transforming it into a modern, economically prosperous and culturally advanced country was set forth as early as in the programme of the party adopted at the Second Congress of the

RSDLP. After the victory of the Socialist revolution Lenin saw in economic building, in the economic development of the first Socialist country, the main lever for the development of the Socialist revolution in the world, for winning the working people for the Socialist idea. Today, when there are as many as 14 Socialist countries, when they have proved in practice that they are capable of achieving an incomparably higher rate of economic development than the capitalist world, when they have shown the nations of the world the only road to freeing themselves from the plague of hunger, poverty and backwardness, the Leninist idea about the decisive importance of economic development has taken on still greater significance. This idea lies behind the conception of economic competition between Socialism and capitalism, a conception that is consistently pursued by the CPSU and other fraternal parties in Socialist countries.

International, fraternal cooperation of the Socialist countries in the economic field is an extremely important factor in the growth of the forces of Socialism.

Poeple's Poland, like other Socialist countries, does everything possible to hasten the development of its Socialist economy. This is in line with the most vital interests of our nation, creates the foundations for its prosperity and culture, and, at the same time, helps to strengthen the economic potential, power and influence of the whole Socialist community of nations. We are strongly convinced that the achievements of our people and of other fraternal nations will be that much quicker the more we are able to unite the economic endeavour and material potential of our countries. Specialization and an international division of production tasks, coordination of economic plans, and joint and mutually beneficial projects in the production, investment, scientific and technological fields will all make it possible to implement the principles of planned eco-

nomic management on an international scale and to make fuller use of the advantages of the Socialist system in order to augment its predominance in competition with the capitalist world. We cannot agree to the short-sighted, separatist, autarchic principle of self-sufficiency in economic development of basing oneself mainly on one's economy. Such a principle is contrary to the interests of every Socialist country and of the whole community. Increasingly fuller economic cooperation, based on principles designed to meet each new situation creates both the foundation for consolidating the political unity of the Socialist countries — which guarantees the success of our joint international policy and the security and independence of our countries — and determines the success of our struggle against imperialism.

The unyielding struggle for peace which our country has been carrying on together with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries has its source in the fundamental principles of Leninism and fully meets not only the most vital interests of the Socialist countries but also of the working masses of the whole world, for it is the only alternative to a terrible nuclear war and, at the same time, creates the most advantageous conditions for an effective revolutionary struggle by the people for complete social and national liberation. To make a thermonuclear war impossible, to force imperialism to observe the principles of peaceful coexistence, to achieve the acceptance of proposals on general and complete disarmament — these are the main tasks of the world Communist movement.

Adapted to the new conditions and the relation of forces in the world at the present time, the Leninist principle of the policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes the general basis of the foreign policy of Socialist countries with regard to the imperialist world. The consistent struggle to prevent war and the effective paralyzing of the aggressive actions of imperialism

aimed against the Socialist countries and the people liberating themselves from the fetters of colonialism, win for the Socialist world growing support and appreciation in all parts of the globe. The chief mainstay of this policy are the economic potential, defensive power, and the political and moral influence of the USSR —the leading Socialist country.

*

The Leninist draft of Party Rules submitted at the Second Congress of the RSDLP laid the foundations for democratic centralism and collective leadership. The 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, which put an end to the cult of the person of Stalin — an idea alien to Marxism-Leninism — and to the mistakes in theory and distortions in practice connected with it, played a tremendous role in reviving creative Marxist thinking in the international Communist movement. The rebirth of the Leninist principles enriched the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism and contributed immensely to increasing the resilience, the effectiveness of action and the growth of prestige of the world Communist movement.

The theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU formed the basis of the documents adopted at the meetings of Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 which charted for the international Communist movement the right road of the battle for peace, democracy and Socialism, pointed out the existing possibility to prevent an imperialist war, stressed the fact that the struggle for the consolidation of peace is the principal task of the Communist movement, indicated the new ways and possibilities for a transition from capitalism to Socialism, and turned attention to the fight against revisionist as well as dogmatic and sectarian deviations from Leninism.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU played a historic role not

only because it intensified and brought to an end the struggle to overcome the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin, but also because it created a tremendously important ideological and political document for our times, the third since the Second Congress programme of the Leninist Party: the programme for building a Communist society.

The CPSU programme, which generalizes the immense experiences of the Soviet Union, of other Socialist countries, and of the international Communist movement, which charts the road for the construction of the economic foundations of Communism and of a new society permeated with the humanistic ideas of Communism, is of tremendous importance for the Communist and Workers' parties of the whole world.

"For although the new programme of the CPSU," said Comrade Władysław Gomułka, "formally and directly concerns only the peoples of the Soviet Union, nonetheless the ideas and the developed aspects of Marxist-Leninist science contained in it, applies to all nations. There can be no doubt that, as this programme is carried out, the influence and attraction of the ideas of Socialism and Communism will greatly increase and spread to the international working class, to working people in all countries, that it will exert a powerful influence on the shaping and the dynamics of the historical development of mankind."

Attempts to question the correctness of the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, as well as of the two Moscow meetings, either from dogmatic and sectarian positions or from revisionist positions, are theoretically wrong and politically harmful because they are contrary to the interests of the working masses and peoples fighting for peace, freedom and for the Socialist road of development.

The Polish United Workers' Party fully solidarizes itself with the theses of the letter of March 20, 1963, from the Central

Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and of the open letter of July of this year from the CC CPSU to Party organizations and to all Communists in the Soviet Union.

We share in full the point of view of the CPSU as regards the history of the origin and the essence of the differences between the Communist Party of China, on the one hand, and the CPSU and the whole international Communist movement, on the other. We solidarize ourselves with the stand taken by the CPSU on the fundamental issues of our time: the question of war and peace, the question of the liquidation of colonialism, the question of the ways for developing national-liberation struggles and the revolutionary struggle for Socialism, and the question of the unity of the Socialist camp and the international world Communist movement. The unfriendly and baseless attacks of the leadership of the Communist Party of China against the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the attempts to get the Communist movement to withdraw from the creative line collectively worked out by the two international meetings in Moscow, and the disruptive activity of the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the Communist movement and international progressive organizations must meet with condemnation and the determined resistance of all Communists and fighters for progress.

The CPSU can count on the full support of our Party in its aim to overcome the differences in the international Communist movement, in the effort to re-establish its unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

THE 13TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY*

"The idea of creative Marxism-Leninism which guides our Party is invincible. In accordance with the principles of that idea we are mobilizing the entire Party to a greater effort on the ideological front, to the struggle for a full victory of the Socialist consciousness in the hearts and minds of the working class, of all the working people, of the entire nation." In these concluding words of the report by Comrade Władysław Gomułka at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, lies the essence of the ideological offensive proclaimed by the Party. It pertains not only to the spheres of life in our country which are usually regarded as a component part of the ideological front. It is a call of the Central Committee directed to all activists and members of the Party whatever field they are working in. Just as Socialist construction is indissolubly bound with the Marxist-Leninist theory, with the idea of Socialism and Communism, so every builder of Socialism ought to be imbued with the ideological passion and conviction that the complete victory of Socialism is inseparably connected with the winning of the minds and hearts of the whole nation for the ideas of progress, Socialism and peace.

However, from the directives of the 13th Plenum, there follow particular tasks for the ideological front, for all those centres which directly concentrate their main attention on work designed to raise the Socialist consciousness of the nation. It is not

* Article from *Nowe Drogi* (New Roads), theoretical and political organ of the CC of the PUWP, No. 8, 1963.

surprising that the problems of culture, science, education, the press, radio, television, publishing activity, ideological and propaganda work of the Party organizations, educational work among the youth, etc., were the main topics at the Plenum. What then, according to the directives of the Plenum, is the main lever capable of giving added impetus to the ideological offensive? The answer to this question is to be found in Comrade Gomulka's report: "To lead the Party organizations in scientific, educational, cultural, creative, artistic and propaganda circles out of ideological passivity, to restore and strengthen Party discipline among their members, to go over to an ideological offensive in our own ranks — this is what must be done in the first place in order that our Marxist-Leninist ideology should conquer the souls of broad sections of the intelligentsia and, with the help of the latter, spread and penetrate ever deeper into the activity of the working class and the working people."

*

The Marxist thesis that an idea becomes a powerful material force when it wins over the masses and the Leninist idea that the strength of the Socialist system lies in the consciousness of the masses, permeated the discussion at the 13th Plenum. It does not seem necessary today to convince anyone what an important and basic role for the victory of Socialism is played by the development of the national economy, and particularly the increase of labour productivity, technical progress, improvement of work organization, etc. Due to this development we have succeeded in a comparatively short historical period not only to make up for centuries of economic backwardness and tremendous war losses, achieve a considerable advance in the material and civilizational level of the people and raise the importance and respect for our country in the international arena, but also to achieve great revolutionary transformations in the social, cultural, and

political spheres. However, great efforts are still necessary to convince everybody that the transformation of the consciousness of the society in the spirit of Socialism is an integral part of the construction of Socialism, insolubly bound with the creation of the material and technical basis of the new society; that Socialist relations in production and the Socialist economy develop in close connection with the level of Socialist thinking. That is why the 13th Plenum, the first plenary session of the Central Committee devoted to all aspects of the ideological problem, is of exceptional importance.

On the threshold of the 20th anniversary of People's Poland, we have reached such a stage of social consciousness of our people that the ideological struggle does not have to be fought about the basic principles of the system. Here the victory has been final, and the Party, the people's government and the National Unity Front have gained unquestionable support for the basic programmatic principles in the building of Socialism. However, Socialist consciousness cannot be limited to the acceptance of the principles of the system. The rapid, important developments in the country and in the world bring to the fore many new problems requiring an active conscious attitude, an offensive approach befitting conscious builders of Socialism.

For what and against whom should the intensified ideological struggle be waged?

The consciousness of our society is not sufficiently immunized against the effects of reactionary and imperialist propaganda because it still remains, to a considerable degree, under the influence of backward traditions, prejudices, customs and habits, inherited from centuries-old rule of the propertied classes.

There still exist active — though not numerous — reactionary forces, hostile to Socialism, that get busy particularly in periods of increased economic difficulties and world tension. Those forces find ready support among church hierarchy.

Firm conviction of the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, of the inevitable victory of Socialism in the world, of the need for close ties with the Socialist countries and with the selfless struggle of the working masses in the capitalist world, has not yet sufficiently penetrated the minds of all the working people, of the entire society.

There is still a lot of inefficiency in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology and Socialist ethical and moral principles, as well as in the promotion of a new approach to the state, to work and to Socialist property. The process of forming a new, Socialist national culture is not developing satisfactorily.

All these shortcomings in the sphere of social consciousness become particularly dangerous when we consider the fact that the moods, views and attitudes of the community are developing in close relationship with the struggle waged by two social and economic systems for the fate of the world, a struggle determining all conflicts of the contemporary world, a struggle in which our country is deeply involved and on the results of which the future of our country depends. In this struggle between Socialism throughout the world, our Party and our state are adhering to the general principle of peaceful coexistence, which does not imply an ideological armistice or ideological compromises. Yet, in some circles attempts are often made to extend the principle of peaceful coexistence to the ideological sphere; this weakens our struggle against the imperialist propaganda machine which expends tremendous resources for spreading anti-Communist ideology in their own country and for poisoning, with that ideology, the social consciousness in the Socialist countries.

*

Where should the main efforts in our ideological and educational work be concentrated?

The 13th Plenum indicated the basic directions, taking into

account the general interests of the country and the nation. What is decisive, however, is the concrete application of these general directives to each particular field, to each locality and place of work, to each sphere of ideological and educational activity. The fact is that the gaps and weak spots in our ideological and propaganda work are spread unevenly, hence various fields of activity require different degrees of offensive action. In this connection, too, schematism and the lack of a concrete, creative approach are impermissible. The problem is to bring the general line of the ideological offensive to all members of the Party, to every Party activist. It is also necessary to realize that the concentration of the 13th Plenum on the mistakes and weaknesses of the ideological work does not mean that we do not have important and lasting achievements in this work. It only means that the internal and international situation require the raising of the work to a much higher level, that there arose too great a disproportion between the level of the general social and economic development of the country and the degree of development of Socialist consciousness. Let us try to single out the main problems that were raised at the Plenum and particularly, in Comrade Gomułka's report which was accepted by the Plenum as a directive for the Party's activity.

The Socialist Attitude to Work

Work represents the highest school of life, the school of thinking along new, Socialist lines. Thousands of collectives are augmenting the strength of the country by means of efficient work. The attitude to work constitutes the highest criterion of ideological and moral values. Concern for higher labour productivity, for saving materials, for introducing new technological processes, for lowering production costs, for carrying out plans ahead of schedule, for proper fulfilment of each one's tasks at every post, is becoming more and more widespread among our

great army of workers in the cities and villages. However, this is not yet a general feature. Hence it is necessary, on the one hand, to popularize the example of those who stand out for their conscientiousness at work and, on the other hand, to remove all obstacles which hamper the awakening of a feeling of love and respect for human labour and Socialist property among the broadest sections of the community.

Education in the Spirit of Internationalism and Patriotism

It is necessary to wage a struggle on two fronts: against nationalism, which in the present conditions is directed against the Socialist countries, mainly against the USSR; and against nihilism, which reveals itself primarily in the adulation of the capitalist West. Speaking on this question at the 13th Plenum, Comrade Gomułka declared: "As a feeling and social attitude, patriotism draws its deepest strength from the love of one's country, from the concern for the prosperity and freedom of the nation, from ardent faith in the creative forces of the masses of people. All national and social interests of Poland are tied up with Socialism. This is why our patriotism is united integrally with internationalism, with the feeling of deep class and ideological links with other Socialist countries and with the forces of progress the world over." In this educational work, the proper presentation of historical traditions undoubtedly plays an important role. However, the Plenum emphasized the fact that the decisive element imbuing the population with a spirit of patriotism and internationalism is, above all, the contemporary period with its problems and conflicts.

For the Victory of Marxism-Leninism in the Social Sciences

In the recent period there has been a certain strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist trend in the social sciences. However, the struggle against bourgeois ideology has not been adequate.

Many scientific workers have taken the false position of peaceful coexistence with bourgeois ideology. There is a close connection between the idea of peaceful coexistence in the sphere of ideology and the revisionist theories about the alleged separate and opposed character of ideology and science. Many workers in the social sciences display a strong enough desire of inclination to expose the reactionary character of bourgeois theories. What is disturbing is not the fact of creative research on the basis of Marxism but the fact of the departure from Marxism, from scientific truth. In order to overcome the mistakes and ideological shortcomings in the social sciences, it is necessary to examine the political position of the exponents of the erroneous views. The role of the social sciences is especially important in the process of moulding the Socialist consciousness of the community. As Comrade Gomułka stressed at the 13th Plenum: "By their very nature the social sciences are most directly concerned with politics. The object of their investigations are the laws of social development. Any theoretical reasoning with regard to economic, philosophical and sociological problems is linked directly with the theoretical bases of the political thinking of the Party. This is the reason why the Party is deeply interested in seeing scientific works in this field correct from the point of view of Marxism, free from methodological distortions and alien ideological influences. Neither a high scientific level nor a Marxist observance of principles in the social sciences can exist otherwise."

For a Socialist Trend in Polish Culture

The experience of our Socialist construction confirms the truth that cultural creation and activity play an important role in the formation of the Socialist consciousness of society. The cultural revolution in our country has made tremendous progress. We can claim considerable achievements in literature, films, theatre and music. However, in the recent period we have had too few

works which, in a spirit of full commitment and passion, would show the picture of our development, of the toil of the working masses struggling for a better future for the country. There are few works that are definitely in the spirit of anti-imperialism and internationalism, works that depict our heroic revolutionary traditions, and, unfortunately, there are many works on marginal subjects, questionable from the ideological and educational point of view. Among many creative workers there is acceptance of the theory of the dominant role of form, along with an uncritical transplanting upon Polish soil of creations from the West which are saturated with the philosophy of hopelessness, despair, of the loneliness of man, pessimism, etc. The cultural policy of the Party supports, within reason, artistic experiments without which the development of art is unthinkable. Decisive, however, is what ideological and cultural ends the experiments serve. The cultural policy of the Party gives wide scope to unfettered creativeness and literary activity, but does not permit the spreading of works whose content is hostile to Socialism and harmful from the point of view of their educational influence on society. As Comrade Gomułka put it at the 13th Plenum, "When we speak today of the commitment of our literature and art we do not have in mind commitment in general. It is obvious that every creative artist is committed in something or other. We should like to see our creative artists as strongly committed as possible to the cause of Socialism and peace, so that their writings will help people to live and work, develop and shape their ideological attitude, their emotional and moral sensitiveness, widen their intellectual horizons, show by means of artistic media the immensity of our achievements on the Socialist construction front and the greatness of the prospects for the further development of Poland and of the entire Socialist world, and unmask with passion our foes, the world of imperialism, its anti-human and anti-peace face."

The Press, Radio and Television — Important Weapons in the Ideological Offensive

The press, radio and television have considerable achievements in explaining the economic problems, in popularizing the leading working people, in proper presentation of the international situation, and in just criticism of various anomalies of our life. Against the background of those achievements, the negative features of sensationalism, of the tendency to show things in the darkest colours and to resort to demagogic criticism, become ever more glaring. Particularly noticeable in the presentation of world events is the lack of more analytical commentaries, which would show the current events and facts on the broad background of the struggle between Socialism and capitalism, and which in a suggestive way would prove the superiority of our system. The press, radio and television do not sufficiently expose the falsehoods, slanders and disruptive propaganda coming from the West. Comrade Gomulka pointed out at the Plenum that "the respective Party organizations and editorial boards of periodicals, radio and television should set themselves the task to participate in a better and more concrete manner in the implementation of the current tasks of the Party, to develop a deeper and therefore more convincing propaganda on the central problems of the economic and social policy.

Imbuing the Young Generation With a Socialist Consciousness

The Socialist Youth Union and the Rural Youth Union now embrace a large number of young people. They have considerable achievements to their credit bringing the youth and its interests closer to the mainstream of Socialist construction in the country. But considering the fact that enemy propaganda is mainly directed towards winning the hearts and minds of the youth and that the natural criticism of the young generation is

being utilized by the reactionary demagogues against the vital problems of the country, the political and educational work conducted until now among young people should be regarded as insufficient. As a result, there are still many groups among the youth that treat lightly their obligations to society, that take the easy way out, and do not see the necessity of efforts and sacrifices indispensable for the speedy and effective overcoming of our difficulties. The schools have particularly responsible tasks in this field. Undoubtedly there are shortcomings in the curricula, and it is necessary to introduce changes in the practical work of the schools and in the organization and the methods of work with the youth. The point is that the school, in all of its teaching and educational work, should help to strengthen the ties between the young generation and the Party, with the efforts of the entire nation in building Socialism. The same applies to the institutions of higher learning, to the academic youth, among whom the spirit of the ideological offensive is not strongly enough developed and who are not sufficiently involved in the struggle conducted under the leadership of the Party.

Freedom in the Interests of Socialism

There is no doubt that a proper understanding of the problem of freedom by the creative circles and generally by the workers on the ideological front, is of tremendous importance. The raising of this question is essential for the proper guidance of the ideological offensive of the Party. The fact is that the creative workers must become convinced that human freedom is not only a matter of the individual but also that of society. A Marxist does not recognize abstract freedom but puts the question as follows: freedom for whom and in whose interests? The content of freedom is always of a class character, is conditioned by society. And phrases about freedom "in general," "integral" freedom, "unlimited" freedom, have no meaning

anywhere in the world and least of all in the capitalist world which is based on exploitation and suppression of the forces of progress, freedom and Socialism. For a Marxist, the flourishing of human personality, the comprehensive development of man's creative abilities is one of the basic aims which is reached in the course of social development and through social development, in conditions of struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces. "Poland is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat," Comrade Gomułka said at the Plenum. "By eliminating the exploitation of man by man, we are creating a new and a higher type of relations between people, on which a new and higher form of democracy depends. But at the same time, we have clearly defined the limits of freedom for the enemies of our system. We have not allowed and we shall not allow any propaganda hostile to Socialism. This is limiting freedom, but it is limiting the freedom of reactionary forces and enemies, in favour of real freedom for the popular masses, the type of freedom, we are constantly developing and strengthening. With time, when external threats no longer exist and the internal enemy disappears, the existing restrictions will disappear."

To Intensify the Ideological and Political Work Within the Party

One of the main sources of weakness on the ideological front is the insufficient ideological work of the Party organizations and committees. Party propaganda is not sufficiently tied in with the immediate, practical tasks of the struggle against the ideological enemies, with the needs of life. The dogmatic and revisionist tendencies in the Party have not been entirely overcome. The danger of dogmatism reveals itself mainly in the attempts at applying administrative pressure where convincing, patient explanations and long ideological work are necessary. At the same time, one must bear in mind that the ideological

front is particularly subject to revisionist tendencies. The situation requires better and more effective coordination of the activities of the whole ideological front by the leading Party bodies. An important step towards giving the activities of the Party in the ideological and propaganda fields a more consistent and unified character was the creation, in accordance with the decisions of the 13th Plenum, of the ideological commission of the Central Committee with the participation of the leading comrades preoccupied with these problems.

"We shall not develop the ideological offensive," Comrade Gomulka said at the Plenum, "without the discipline of all members of the Party working in the institutions and milieus which play a decisive role on the front of the ideological struggle, without the ideological and organizational cementing of the Party organizations existing there."

*

The sooner the broad masses of Party and non-Party activists and the wide circles of activists in the cultural, scientific and educational fields realize that increased Socialist consciousness does not follow automatically, does not come about as a direct product of economic and social transformations, the more effective will be the ideological offensive proclaimed by the 13th Plenum. All of them must realize that this calls for daily, ideological, political and educational work by the Party, the people's government and all the social organizations, that the offensive gathers strength and develops in the course of the toil and struggle of the millions of working people, in the struggle against ossification, routinism and conservatism, in the struggle of the new against the old, of progress against reaction.

The basic idea — developed so comprehensively at the 13th Plenum — that our persevering, consistent and ever more persistently proclaimed and implemented policy of peaceful co-

existence does not at all mean an ideological armistice, must be thoroughly understood and accepted with conviction by the entire Party, by every activist and particularly by the whole ideological front.

This impermissibility of ideological compromises in the encounters with ideological adversaries must become a basic directive for our activity. For, after all, it is an irrefutable truth that just as the character of the contemporary epoch dictates the need for peaceful coexistence, so the necessity of waging an offensive and staunch ideological struggle is conditioned by the objective existence of two different and opposing social and economic systems on a world scale, the expression of which is to be found in their opposing and irreconcilable ideologies, just as Socialism and capitalism cannot be reconciled.

The victory of Socialism over capitalism is inevitable. However, Marxism-Leninism does not recognize historical fatalism. The forces which defend the system of exploitation and oppression, which do not give up the idea of unleashing a new war, which do not wish to reconcile themselves to the advance of the idea of Socialism in the world and to the continuous development of the Socialist countries, are still large and active. That is why in the final analysis the victory of Socialism over capitalism is not possible without a battle of ideas, without exposing the forces of reaction, without a universal victory of the Socialist ideology in the minds and hearts of all working people.

In this respect, the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of Party is an event of tremendous importance.

I N F O R M A T I O N

ANDRZEJ PAWŁOWSKI

Senior Instructor, Department of
Propaganda and Agitation, CC of the PUWP

THE EVENING UNIVERSITIES OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Among the many different forms of ideological work conducted by the Polish United Workers' Party, a special place is occupied by the Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism (EUML). Continuous improvements in the methods of work, concern for a high level of teaching — for attracting the best lectures, and the linking of ideological and theoretical problems with concrete knowledge and the problems of day-to-day life have turned the Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism into an important instrument in the work of the leading Party bodies and have gained for it growing interest among the Party and non-party active in various circles.

The development of the EUML is best illustrated by the following figures: whereas in 1955 the number of students in the Warsaw EUML was not much above 300 and in the next two years dropped considerably, it has grown since then and reached more than 700 in the academic year 1962-1963. In 1957, 213 students graduated from the EUML in Katowice Province, while in 1962 there were 717 graduates.

At present, there are 17 Evening Universities in the country, which means that there is one in every provincial capital. Moreover, a total of 36 EUML branches are functioning under the jurisdiction of county (or city) committees. Both the Evening Universities and their branches base their work on a two-year programme. In addition, the EUML runs 38 one-year special courses. In 1962-1963, the two-year EULM classes and the one-year courses were attended by 14 500 students.

*

In June of this year a meeting was held in the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the CC, which was attended by the heads of the Propaganda Departments and the heads of the Evening Universities. The meeting reviewed the work of our EUML's to-date, and on the basis of their experience drew up a plan for their further development.

When we look back today at the 10-year road traversed by the largest of our Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism we see that one of the basic factors which made for their success was the proper content of the programme of studies for this form of Party schooling.

In face of the need to link the ideological offensive with the requirements of practical work the initially uniform EUML's were divided into two departments — economical and historical-philosophical. The Economic Department concentrates above all on work among the economic active. The Historical-Philosophical Department does not have such a clearly defined type of student, but it can be said that most of the students come from the active among teachers, cultural workers, employees of People's Councils, and activists in mass organizations. Both departments disseminate Marxist knowledge among the large groups of propagandists, lecturers, and other activists on the ideological front. Both of the EUML departments also have considerable achievements to their credit in matters concerning programmes and methods of work.

In addition to the main subjects — Marxist Political Economy in the Economic Department and Dialectical and Historical Materialism in the Historical-Philosophical Department — the programmes contain a number of subjects for supplementing the education of our activists.

This is true, for instance, of such subjects as the Economics of Enterprises and Analysis of Their Operations — in the Economic Department and Marxist Ethics and Scientific Atheism — in the Historical-Philosophical Department.

Guided by the principle of flexibility in the programme, some of the Evening Universities are introducing subjects which are of particular importance from the viewpoint of the work of local Party organizations. This is shown, for instance, by the comprehensive treatment of problems of the economics of agriculture and the Party's agrarian policy in such agricultural regions as the provinces of Bydgoszcz and Poznań, problems of the maritime economy in Gdańsk Province, and building problems in Warsaw.

As far as elements of concrete economics are concerned, their programmes are designed to meet the needs of activists who require a knowledge of economics in their political work.

One of the major functions of the Historical-Philosophical Department is to deepen and extend Marxist knowledge among the large groups of our propagandists, lecturers, and instructors in Party training schools. Such a need is felt especially in connection with the growing cadres of propagandists among the engineering and technical activists who enjoy

enormous authority but frequently do not have sufficient systematic ideological preparation.

As for the programme of studies for activists not connected by their professional work with economic problems, we regard it necessary to supplement the philosophical and social theory acquired at the Evening Universities with the broadest possible economic information in order to bring these activists closer to the practical aspects of Socialist construction.

*

From year to year we note a rapid quantitative and qualitative growth of the EUML branches. The great vitality of the branches is to a great extent due to the special hunger for knowledge among the activists of small towns and countries, as well as to the great needs in this respect on the part of the county committees.

The dynamics of this form of work is shown by the increase in the number of students from 2,800 in 1961-1962 to 5,200 in 1962-1963, and also by the growing development of the Philosophical Departments in addition to the almost exclusive Economic Departments existing previously in the branches of the Evening Universities. At present EUML branches are run by a little under 10 per cent of the total number of county and city committees, but this does not mean that a further, equally rapid extension of local branches would be realistic. In many provinces it has become the practice to gradually train the local activists by transferring the EUML branches, according to a plan, to the next counties after the tasks in the given areas have been fulfilled.

A new type of branch has come into being in recent years, namely, EUML branches in large industrial establishments. For obvious reasons the economic and political activists of factories with thousands of workers are particularly interested in having the EUML "come" to the factory itself. This makes it possible, among other things, for the character of the Evening University, its programme and methods of work to be adapted to the needs of the factory active.

The factory branches have a great future ahead of them and are expected to develop considerably in the next several years, among other reasons, because of the growing need for skilled cadres of propagandists in large factories, the development of factory propaganda centres and training networks in the factories, the rise in the level of activity by

workers' self-governments and consequently, the greater demands made on their activists.

*

In the academic year 1961-1962, 24 special courses with 1,100 students were organized, and in the recently concluded 1962-1963 school year there were already 36 such courses with 2,300 students. Courses on scientific atheism account for about half of these figures. The other studies are on philosophy, international affairs, and also on economic affairs. These courses played an important role in preparing and giving additional knowledge to the active, especially on the ideological front. This form of Party training fulfills an important task in expanding the cadre of qualified propagandists for mass organizations engaged in atheistic propaganda: the Association of Atheists, the Society of Secular Schools, and the Society for General Knowledge. The course has become a major source of knowledge of scientific atheism and philosophy for the numerous cadre of activists among teachers and young teachers, especially in places without regular contact with the best scientific cadres in these fields of learning.

Courses on international affairs make it possible to meet the demand of the broad active of propagandists, especially lecturers, at the various provincial and county committees for this very important field of knowledge which requires constant study.

In some provinces the EURL's have also managed to reach other circles, particularly workers in the medical field and in the natural sciences.

A somewhat different form is represented by the one-year courses on economic affairs. This form is being adopted especially in large industrial establishments and involves the study of the economics of the given enterprise, supplemented by elements of political economy, and also in some agricultural counties where studies include the economics of agriculture and the agrarian policy of the Party.

It is our objective to keep on extending the network of one-year courses by encompassing ever larger sections of the active, above all, the propaganda active and activists from the ideological and cultural front.

*

An important segment of EURL work is represented by the two-year courses conducted by provincial committees for workers of the Party

apparatus. These courses enable the comrades from the apparatus of the county committees and the provincial committees who do not have the appropriate theoretical and ideological preparation to become acquainted — without being drawn away from their work — with the problems of Marxism-Leninism, philosophy, political economy, history of the labour movement, international affairs, and Party building. Starting with problems concerning present-day events and the specific needs of the given area, such a programme makes it possible for comrades with considerable experience in political work and, frequently, with first-rate professional knowledge, to take the first, most difficult step towards acquiring an independent knowledge of the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory.

*

The basic task of the Evening Universities — a task which is rather difficult to carry out — is that of imbuing the students with the habit of independent work on our theory and of imparting the skill to combine this theory with practice. Accomplishment of this task calls for considerable effort in the realm of method in order to finally eliminate the primary school methods still used here and there, and to eliminate teaching methods which are appropriate for young students and are still sometimes used in the Evening Universities. It is necessary to devote sufficient time to seminars, discussions, exchanges of views and experiences concerning the professional and social work of the students, regarding current political information, contact of teams of students with members of leading Party bodies, etc. Further concrete development of the methods of work along this line is unquestionably one of the conditions for ensuring an influx of additional groups of activists, particularly of the propaganda activists, into the Evening Universities in the near future.

THE WORKERS' AGENCY

The Workers' Agency (Polish abbreviation — AR) is the press agency of the Polish United Workers' Party. It was founded on December 15, 1948, on the day of the unification of the Polish workers' movement, following the merger of the Workers' Press Agency, (RAP) which was the agency of the Polish Workers' Party, and the Socialist Press Agency (SAP), the press agency of the Polish Socialist Party. Its original task was to provide the Party press in the country with articles and commentaries. These were supplied by means of bulletins and a network of teletypes. This service continues to this day.

In 1957, a daily news service for the entire press was begun. It publishes materials which are not reports and have no official character. They pertain to various economic, social, party-political and cultural problems. Since 1957, the amount of published information has been doubled.

In the latter part of 1958, in connection with the new task of the press to raise the technical level of the community through the popularization of science and technological progress, AR started to issue a weekly bulletin, "Science and Technology." The subject matter of the bulletin and its role is periodically reviewed by the Programme Council headed by the President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Professor Janusz Groszkowski. The Council is composed of many well-known scientists in different fields. "Science and Technology" maintains numerous contacts with scientists abroad, particularly with scholars in the USSR who often contribute to the bulletin.

In the middle of 1960, complying with the wishes of the subscribers, most of whom publish Sunday editions, very similar to illustrated magazines, the Workers' Agency began to issue a weekly bulletin, called "The Magazine," which contains articles and short interesting items for the use of the Sunday editions.

In 1962, the Polish press carried 100 per cent more reprints of AR materials than in 1956. In the same period there was a considerable increase in subscriptions to the AR bulletins.

The Workers' Agency also conducts a photo service "Photo-AR." Its task is to provide illustrations — photographs, drawings, charts, etc. — to the materials published in the bulletin. "Photo-AR" is likewise of considerable help to the AR service provided to foreign publications.

In 1960, a poll of public opinion was begun strictly for the needs of the press and publications, on subjects connected with the policy of the Party. This poll is conducted in the form of sounding out the experts or persons directly interested in the solution of a given problem. Sometimes, it is in the form of a press questionnaire. For example, the following problems were dealt with at different times: the attitude of the public on questions of population; on the work and needs of the County Peoples Councils; on the state of vocational training of youth and adults; on the opinion of youth living in the Western Territories; questionnaire on foreign trade; soundings on the state of work safety measures and the industrial health service, etc. The results of these inquiries are published in bulletins for internal use and may be utilized as source material in press commentaries. They are sent to responsible Party, state and scientific workers, but particularly to editorial boards and feature writers. The experience of a few years shows that the results of these inquiries are very useful not only to the Workers' Agency but to all editorial boards.

In 1959, on the initiative of the Press and Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Workers' Agency set up a service for abroad, called AR-Press. Its task is to prepare materials about Poland for publication in foreign newspapers and magazines. AR-Press maintains direct contact with editors and press agencies both in Socialist and capitalist countries and at their request prepares materials pertaining to Poland's economic, social and cultural problems. AR-Press materials are not mimeographed and, as a rule, one text is sent to one paper or magazine. Very often these are serious materials for theoretical monthlies, as well as articles for special occasions, reportages, photo-reportages, feature articles, interviews, etc. The editorial boards and institutions sending in their requests may indicate what form and contents they desire (for example, what questions should be mainly dealt with). The idea is to adapt the materials as far as possible to the needs of those who place the orders and to take into consideration the character of the publication and the interest of its readers. Those who

order materials may also indicate the names of the authors they prefer. AR-Press materials are published in eight languages and appear in over thirty countries.

At the beginning of 1962 the Workers' Agency entered the TV film field. Tele-AR, a service established for this purpose, looks after the training of journalists for film work, supplies them with the necessary equipment, gives them assignments and sees to the technical and political editing of the films. A considerable number of Polish press correspondents stationed abroad or travelling to foreign countries have been drawn into this work. Tele-AR materials take the form of foreign correspondence or reportages. The films are shown on television, and interest in them is also being displayed by the Educational Film Agency.

The Workers' Agency has a body of experienced and highly qualified journalists and feature writers as well as a staff of foreign correspondents. (Its bulletins give prominence to materials on the Socialist countries sent by AR correspondents.) Moreover, the agency has a large group of contributors both in Poland and abroad.

NON-RESIDENT STUDIES IN THE CC HIGHER SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES*

The Higher School of Social Sciences, conducted by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, was established six years ago by merging the then existing Central Party Schools. On the basis of their experience an expanded programme of studies was worked out in order to help Party functionaries to meet the new tasks. The main characteristic of the studies in the Higher School of Social Sciences is the coupling of general Marxist-Leninist education with a thorough knowledge of socio-economic problems in a definite area of work. This makes for better, more effective leadership, providing, as it does, the students with the ability to link their education with the problems of their localities and with mass work.

The main emphasis of the school (it has two Departments: Economics and History-Sociology) is on the three-year resident study course. After obtaining their diplomas, the vast majority of the students, as shown by the experience of several years, continue their studies as non-residents, by means of seminars, in order to obtain a Master's degree in a chosen field. 402 comrades finished their resident studies; of these, 62 have already acquired their Master's degree, and 300 are continuing their studies at the Higher School of Social Sciences toward a Master's degree. An additional 158 students will complete their studies this year.

Only a part of the comrades working in the Party apparatus, the youth movement, and mass organizations, as well as activists could take up resident studies. The desire of the Party cadres and the active to supplement their Marxist knowledge and acquire a higher education in specific fields pointed to the need to assist a broader group of comrades.

* More extensive information about the work of the Higher School of Social Sciences appeared in No. 12 (1962) of the Bulletin.

With this aim in view, a course of non-resident studies was inaugurated in both of the Departments of the Higher School of Social Sciences one year after it was set up. Beginning with the first year of the non-resident courses a large number of candidates applied (more than a thousand comrades each year), from whose number we can accept only about a half. This caused a rapid expansion of the studies which embraces 2,158 comrades in the current year (1,394 in the Department of Economics and 764 in the Department of History-Sociology). The selection for the next academic year, in which a new group of about 500 comrades will begin their studies, is now coming to an end.

Workers in the Party apparatus (60 per cent of the students) are among the first to be directed to the Higher School of Social Sciences; on the other hand, larger groups of Party activists can be accommodated in non-resident studies. Among the participants in the latter courses, workers in the Party apparatus (as many as 400 of them) account for 20 per cent of the student body. Besides, 80 workers in the youth apparatus, some 120 activists from the People's Councils and about 50 from trade unions, almost 200 teachers and workers in education, more than 100 army officers, 100 workers in the Ministry of the Interior and 400 activists from production establishments are among the students, plus a group of activists from the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

Participants in the non-resident study courses are, as a rule, Party activists, and as such they are directed to these courses by the Provincial Committees. Not counting those from the Party apparatus, about 200 of the students are members of Party committees and commissions, over 100 are secretaries of Party branches and 120 act as lecturers and instructors. A notable fact is that the majority of the non-resident students in the Department of Economics have completed secondary technical education, while over 100 engineers are supplementing their knowledge of economics.

Although difficult conditions of combining study with professional work result in many of the students falling out, we, nevertheless, note that after some interruption, occasioned by a variety of reasons, there is an ever greater frequency of return to studies. The results of studying under such difficult conditions are, of course, inferior than those of resident students; nonetheless, with the generally obligatory requirements of the Higher School of Social Sciences, some 30 per cent of non-resident students achieve good and very good results.

The programme of non-resident studies is identical with that of the

3-year resident studies, except that it is calculated to be covered over a 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ -year period. For the first two years consultations and classes on the majority of subjects are held, as a rule, at local consultation points which are maintained at every Provincial Committee. For the succeeding years the comrades travel to the School for two days each month during which time they attend lectures and take part in seminars and informal sessions with their professors.

After obtaining their diplomas the comrades may continue studies, by means of seminars, preparatory for a Master's degree, together with resident graduates.

The first 80 comrades have already obtained their diplomas (the majority of them continuing studies toward a Master's degree), while about another 100 will get their diplomas by the end of the present academic year. Among them we have a group of 25 comrades from the large plants in Stalowa Wola, whose theses for diplomas deal with problems of their work establishments (labour productivity, wages, costs, etc.).

Those now attending the fourth year (some 200 students) have begun work on their theses. In the Department of Economics most of the topics are concerned with concrete problems of economics in industry and agriculture; in the Department of History-Sociology the majority of subjects dealt with the most recent events in Polish history as well as sociological studies on the working class and industry. On the basis of observation of the development of non-resident studies until now, it may be assumed that the number of graduates in future years will remain more or less at the present level.

M A T E R I A L S A N D D O C U M E N T S

TELEGRAM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PUWP TO COMRADE SAMUEL MIKUNIS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CC OF THE CP OF ISRAEL

DEAR COMRADE MIKUNIS,

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY WE SEND HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO YOU — THE LONG-TIME LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL AND WELL-KNOWN LEADER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

PLEASE ACCEPT, DEAR COMRADE, OUR BEST WISHES FOR LONG YEARS OF LIFE AND HAPPINESS, FOR FURTHER SUCCESS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE CAUSE OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN POLAND

AUGUST 1963

July 26- August 5 A delegation of the All-Polish National Unity Front Committee headed by Bolesław Podedworny, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State and Vice-Chairman of the All-Polish National Unity Front Committee, participated in the celebrations of the national holiday of Cuba and the tenth anniversary of the armed struggle of the Cuban people for the liberation of their country.

July 29- Aug. 6 Vice-premier Piotr Jaroszewicz and Józef Olszewski, director of the Economic Department of the CC of the PUWP, paid a visit to the Mongolian People's Republic, at the invitation of the party leadership and government there. The purpose of the visit was to acquaint themselves with the current economic problems of Mongolia and to conduct talks with representatives of the party leadership and government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the

subject of further Polish-Mongolian cooperation.

July 31- Aug. 3 Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture of the USA, paid a visit to Poland at the invitation of Mieczysław Jagielski, Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Freeman displayed interest in the experiences of our agriculture and held talks with Edward Ochab, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State, Stefan Jędrychowski, Chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, as well as with a number of other personages.

1 To mark the 19th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, inhabitants of the capital paid homage to the memory of soldiers of the uprising who fell in the heroic fight for the liberation of the country from the Nazi occupant. Wreaths were placed at the foot of monuments, memorial tablets and places sanctified by the

blood shed by Poles, torches were lit and guards of honour mounted.

2 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic published a statement in which it declared the readiness of the government of the Polish People's Republic to adhere at once to the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear test explosions in the atmosphere, outer space and under water.

8 Józef Winiewicz, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, on behalf of the government of the Polish People's Republic, signed the treaty banning nuclear test explosions in the atmosphere, outer space and under water.

- In connection with the signing of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, the Presidium of the Polish National Peace Committee sent a telegram to the Soviet Peace Committee in which it expresses the conviction that the Moscow Treaty will open bright prospects for attaining further solutions which would consolidate peace and that — despite the resistance of the most aggressive and reactionary forces of the imperialist camp and despite the shameful activity of the disrupters of the

unity of anti-imperialist forces — the peoples of the world, basing themselves on the strength of the Socialist camp and the Soviet Union, its most decisive force, will succeed in enforcing their peaceful aims, thus eliminating the threat of a nuclear war catastrophe, ensuring peaceful coexistence and the triumph of Socialism.

- Polish scientists discovered large deposits of bentonite in Silesia which can be used by many branches of the economy. The rich deposits, estimated at hundreds of millions of tons, put Poland among the leading countries in the world in this respect.

9 *Pravda* published an article written by Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, entitled "Peaceful Coexistence — the General Line of Foreign Policy of Socialist Countries."

- An electrolytic zinc sheet plant was opened in the Lenin Foundry.

10 The Central Committee of the PUWP sent a telegram of best wishes to Samuel Mikunis, Secretary General of the CP of Israel on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

● A treaty for scientific and technical cooperation between Poland and Brazil was signed in Rio de Janeiro. The agreement provides for extensive scientific cooperation in various fields of industry and regulates organizational problems for such cooperation.

11-15 Japanese parliamentarians — members of the Socialist Party — visited Poland on the invitation of the Polish Group of the Inter-parliamentary Union. The Japanese parliamentarians held a number of talks and meetings and went sightseeing in Warsaw.

12 Minister Kazimierz Secomski was appointed government plenipotentiary for the coordination of all matters related to Polish aid for Skopje. Simultaneously, a Government Commission was set up to coordinate and implement all forms of this aid.

12-17 A conference was held in Warsaw, with the participation of specialists from the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic, to discuss and establish the proper methods and means for most quickly and economically completing the "Friendship" oil pipe line which is being built in our countries.

15 On the occasion of the national holiday of the Korean People's Democratic Republic — the 18th anniversary of its liberation — Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, sent a telegram of congratulations to Kim Ir Sen, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Labour Party of Korea and Coy Jen Gen, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

23 On the occasion of the 19th anniversary of the liberation of the Rumanian People's Republic, Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, sent a telegram of congratulations to Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the Rumanian People's Republic, and to Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Min-

isters of the Rumanian People's Republic.

Aug. 24- A delegation of the Polish
Sept. 3 National Peace Committee, headed by Professor Jerzy Bukowski, Vice-Chairman of the Polish Peace Committee and rector of the Warsaw Polytechnic, visited Yugoslavia on the invitation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples.

26-28 Nicolas Faddeyev, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), accompanied by higher functionaries of the secretariat of the CMEA visited Warsaw. During his stay in Warsaw Mr. Faddeyev held discussions with Piotr Jaroszewicz, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic and presently Chairman of the Executive Committee of the CMEA, on a number of current problems of the work of the CMEA, connected with the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the July

conference of representatives of Communist parties and heads of governments of the CMEA member-countries.

27 In Warsaw representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia signed an agreement on the statutes, tasks, organization and way of financing the Polish-Czechoslovak research centre for the development of tractors.

28-31 A Polish trade union delegation, headed by Ignacy Loga-Sowiński, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PUWP and Chairman of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions, paid a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. The delegation had talks with a delegation of Bulgarian trade unionists, headed by Stoyan Giurov, Chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. At the conclusion a joint Polish-Bulgarian communiqué was signed on the results of the talks.

M-IN-THE-20TH-CENTURY-----0172047A-----

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



HX 632 A1 W9 no.1316
World communism in the 20th
century.

0172047A MAIN

